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PROVISIONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE THREE THOUSAND
AND FIFTY-NINTH MEETING (Resumption 2)

Held at Headquarters, New York,
on Thursday, 12 March 1992, at 10.30 a.m.

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| President: | Mr. ARRIA | (Venezuela) |
| Members: | Austria | Mr. HOHENFELLNER |
| | Belgium | Mr. NOTERDAEME |
| | Cape Verde | Mr. BARBOSA |
| | China | Mr. LI Daoyu |
| | Ecuador | Mr. AYALA LASSO |
| | France | Mr. MERIMEE |
| | Hungary | Mr. ERDOS |
| | India | Mr. GHAREKHAN |
| | Japan | Mr. HATANO |
| | Morocco | Mr. SNOUSSI |
| | Russian Federation | Mr. LOZINSKY |
| | United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland | Sir David HANNAY |
| | United States of America | Mr. PICKERING |
| | Zimbabwe | Mr. MUMBENGEGWI |

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The meeting resumed at 10.45 a.m., Thursday, 12 March 1992.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): In keeping with the request made yesterday by the Deputy Prime Minister of Iraq, His Excellency Mr. Tariq Aziz, I intend to afford him the opportunity now to make a statement in response to the introductory statement made by the President on behalf of the Council and to the questions and concerns expressed by the members in the course of the Council's deliberations yesterday. I call on the Deputy Prime Minister of Iraq.

Mr. AZIZ (Iraq) (interpretation from Arabic): With your permission, Sir, I should like to begin by commenting on the statement you read out yesterday as President of the Security Council. I shall then answer the questions put by several members of the Council.

The President's statement made reference to the reports of the Secretary-General dated 25 January 1992 and 7 March 1992 on the status of Iraq's compliance with the obligations placed upon it; it refers to general obligations and specific obligations. It is my understanding that the Secretary-General's reports and the President's statement both concentrated on specific obligations, and I shall address these in turn.

The first concerns respect for the international boundary. There is no fundamental problem here. There is a minor problem: the withdrawal of five police posts. Iraq has asked that this be deferred until the demarcation of the boundary has been completed. The statement notes that the area has been calm since last October.

The second point, made both in the President's statement and in the reports of the Secretary-General, and on which the Council placed importance and expressed interest, concerns weapons.

(Mr. Aziz, Iraq)

First, with respect to the destruction of weapons and their sub-systems, we should like to reaffirm what we said in our statement yesterday: all weapons prohibited under resolution 687 (1991), and their sub-systems, have been destroyed.

Secondly, with respect to programmes and other data related to weapons, we are ready to make full, complete and comprehensive declarations and disclosures of all programmes relating to resolution 687 (1991). We are ready to make full, comprehensive and final declarations concerning all aspects of resolution 687 (1991). We are ready immediately to begin detailed technical meetings with the Special Commission and the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) with a view to completing the plan and the programme for each of these programmes, provided that we define a limited time period before the Security Council for that task. Afterwards, we would return to the Council to make a report on the matter.

Another point relates to the phrase "destruction ... or rendering harmless" (resolution 687 (1991), para. 8) of the relevant equipment. Iraq is committed to the provisions of resolution 687 (1991) as they stand. Iraq reiterates the observation made in our statement yesterday that the current interpretation of this subject is not in line with the text of the resolution. Destruction must be limited to equipment that can be used only in the production of prohibited weapons. I call on the Council to meet Iraq's legitimate request with respect to other equipment that can be used for civilian purposes or other purposes that have not been prohibited: that this equipment be rendered harmless or converted to civilian purposes or to other purposes that have not been prohibited, and that provision be made to verify their use in those ways.

(Mr. Aziz, Iraq)

With respect to such verification and to future verification, Ir, through its acceptance of resolution 687 (1991), has accepted the priiple of verification of compliance in the future.

Iraq reaffirms its statement of yesterday: that Iraq's requirem ts of national sovereignty and territorial integrity be respected. Iraq as the Security Council to guarantee these principles. I request that note taken of what I said yesterday in that regard. Understanding by the Counci f the principles and foundations of the legitimate requests made by Iraq in r statement would lead to the fair, just and objective fulfilment of th essential obligations placed upon Iraq in resolutions 707 (1991) and 715 (1991) in such a way as to reassure the Council.

My delegation is ready to engage in constructive and objective d logue with the Special Commission and the IAEA with a view to providing the information that has been requested and to agreeing on practical arra ements falling within the framework of the mandate and objectives defined by he Security Council - but not going beyond them to serve either politica r intelligence purposes.

The third point in the President's statement, which was addresse y several representatives, relates to detainees. In my statement yeste y, I said that in an official memorandum dated 20 February 1992 addressed the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) we requested the ICRC complete this task in a comprehensive manner and to take any necessar teps to verify the facts.

(Mr. Aziz, Iraq)

In our memorandum we said that the competent Iraqi authorities are ready to take all necessary measures to publish in Iraqi newspapers the names of the missing persons whether they are Kuwaitis, Saudi Arabians or other nationals; that the authorities are ready to arrange for visits by ICRC representatives to prisons and detention camps in accordance with the rules and the Geneva Conventions; and, as I mentioned yesterday, that the authorities are ready to discuss the details of the publication and the visits in talks with the head of the ICRC mission.

In your statement, Sir, you referred to Iraq's liability under international law. The Council is aware that Iraq has accepted the resolutions dealing with this question. It is worth mentioning in this regard that provisions in the resolutions provide for Iraq's liability under international law. This means that we must take into account the rules of international law when applying these provisions so that when we ask for compensation under international liability it should be based on international legal provisions, which call for justice and fairness.

Foremost among these provisions is that the demands should not be vengeful or a way of seeking purely material gain as, for example, in the case of unsubstantiated claims. Iraq is not represented in any way in the machinery that deals with these claims. Moreover, it is our understanding that this is not compatible with international law and precendents in this respect. It is very important that we observe due process in law, which provides that we should establish a relationship between fault and damage, that compensation would be the direct outcome of that liability inasmuch as fault is linked to liability. These elements are not provided for in

(Mr. Aziz, Iraq)

international law when handled by one party; justice demands proof, and as regards proof, the concerned party should be represented directly.

Your statement, Sir, refers to various other questions, for example, the responsibility of Iraq vis-à-vis debts and interest. How can Iraq now repay debts and interest when there is an all-out embargo against it? I declare here, before the Council, that Iraq respects its obligations vis-à-vis lender countries. Iraq cannot repay these debts or service the interest on them if the blockade is not lifted and it cannot export its oil and recover its normal economic situation.

Regarding this point and the comments made by the representative of the Russian Federation, I should like to note that we have informed his Government that Iraq respects its obligations towards it. We have informed a number of countries that we are ready and willing to repay our debts towards them in crude oil. As far as I know, one or more of those countries have contacted the Committee on sanctions and have asked the Council and the Committee to approve the delivery of Iraqi crude oil as repayment for Iraq's debts. The Committee on sanctions has yet to review these requests. Therefore, Iraq cannot bear any responsibility in that regard. However, Iraq remains committed to its obligation towards the countries to which it is indebted.

As to the return of property, I should like to refer to a point you made in your statement yesterday, Sir, when you said:

> "The members of the Council have noted with satisfaction that, as stated in the further report of the Secretary-General, Iraqi officials involved with the return of property have extended maximum cooperation to the United Nations to facilitate the return." (S/PV.3059, pp. 16-17).

We believe that this is perfectly clear.

(Mr. Aziz, Iraq)

The seventh and eighth points that were raised in the statement and dwelt on by a number of members concern monthly statements on gold and foreign currency reserves in keeping with resolutions 706 (1991) and 712 (1991). I should like to deal with those resolutions in detail. Under the provisions of resolution 687 (1991), Iraq requested the Council and the Committee on sanctions to be allowed to export a quantity of oil enabling it to meet the human and basic needs of the Iraqi people, particularly in terms of food and medicine. When Prince Sadruddin Aga Khan visited Iraq as head of the mission of the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees last summer, we discussed this question with him.

(Mr. Aziz, Iraq)

He said that some members of the Security Council had expressed doubt as to Iraq's intentions if it were allowed to export a certain quantity of its oil in order to finance its legitimate food and medicine needs. These members claimed that Iraq might use the money for purposes other than purchasing food or medicine. In that meeting, the Prince was accompanied by three persons: Mr. Richardson, an American and former Attorney General; Sir John Moberly, a former British Ambassador to Iraq; and a third person of French nationality whose name I do not recall. I told them that there was a practical way of dispeling any doubt that Iraq might use the money for purposes other than purchasing food and medicine.

We are ready to sell oil to countries members of the Security Council. Many members of the Security Council were formerly purchasers of Iraqi oil, including the United States, which, prior to August 1990, used to purchase 700,000 barrels a day. France, India, Japan, the former Soviet Union and other countries, permanent and non-permanent members of the Security Council alike, were also our customers. These countries, which took part in the adoption of the Council's resolutions, can personally keep track of the amounts of oil they purchase and can so inform the Council.

We are ready to buy food and medicine from these same countries. We used to purchase an estimated $1 billion to $1.7 billion of foodstuffs on the United States market. We used to purchase most of our medicine and medical supplies on the British market. We used to purchase a great amount of food and medicine from France as well. These are three permanent members of the Security Council. We are ready to confine our purchases to the permanent members of the Security Council so that they can determine whether we are spending our revenues on food and medicine or on weapons. Thus can we dispel all doubts and concerns.

(Mr. Aziz, Iraq)

Unfortunately, these ideas were laid out in resolution 706 (1991), a resolution adopted under Chapter VII with the aim of allowing Iraq to export a limited amount of oil to fill its need for food and medicine. This resolution has political implications that would wittingly or unwittingly lead to interference in Iraq's internal affairs. We cannot accept this question being turned into a political game to achieve political objectives that have nothing to do with the Security Council's objectives.

However, if the Council remains prepared to look into this question, we remain willing to respond. We are ready to enter into serious and practical talks with the Secretariat in order to find a solution to the question of Iraq's exporting an adequate amount of oil to meet the basic humanitarian needs of its people in an open and transparent operation monitored by the United Nations. We are ready to enter into practical arrangements that would provide complete and unambiguous transparency allowing the Security Council and the United Nations to ensure that the revenues from that oil be used only to purchase food, medicine and other basic human needs approved by the sanctions Committee.

I was asked if Iraq is ready to pursue the contacts begun in Vienna last February. The answer is yes. We are ready, but without preconditions. We are ready to enter into an open dialogue without prior conditions in order to achieve a machinery on agreed arrangements leading to the export of an appropriate amount of Iraqi oil and to securing transparency on future imports and exports.

I hope in this regard that the Council will not renew resolution 706 (1991). I hope that the Council will be able to separate this operation from any new resolution. Including it in a Council resolution is impractical,

(Mr. Aziz, Iraq)

in addition to the political aspects to which I referred. There are also practical considerations concerning the machinery Iraq may agree upon with the United Nations; we may run into problems when we begin to implement such machinery. We can deal with those problems through a dialogue with the Secretariat rather than returning once again to the Council, where we risk running into complications involving another resolution adopted under Chapter VII of the Charter.

(Mr. Aziz, Iraq)

The President's statement referred to resolution 688 (1991). A number of representatives talked about the Kurds and the Shi'ites, and the alleged blockade against the three governorates and the international relief effort. We have considered, and we still consider, resolution 688 (1991) to be blatant interference in the internal affairs of Iraq. This is our position of principle vis-à-vis this resolution.

However, in spite of this, when the Secretary-General of the United Nations proposed sending a special representative to coordinate the relief effort and named Prince Saddrudin Aga Khan for this mission, Iraq cooperated. Last year, we signed with him a memorandum of understanding, which expired in December 1991 and was renewed for six more months, ending next June. During this period there have been positive business relations between us and the Prince and his representatives, and then with the people who took on the responsibility after the Prince's mission ended.

The international relief efforts are being carried out on a certain scale in Iraq, and the Iraqi authorities are cooperating with all international agencies and organizations extending aid and assistance to our people in all areas of Iraq.

It has been alleged that a blockade was imposed on three governorates. I should like to make the following clear before the Council: Last April, we started a dialogue with the Kurdistan Front. This dialogue continued from April to August. Because of this constructive dialogue, which took place in Baghdad and in which the leaders of the Kurdish parties, Mr. Massud Barzani, Mr. Jalal Talabani and others, took part, we were able to reach a new, developed formula for autonomy for the Kurds in Iraq. We also reached an agreement on normalization of the situation in Kurdistan, that is, an agreement to solve all problems of the previous years.

(Mr. Aziz, Iraq)

At the end of the dialogue, in August, the leadership of the Kurdistan Front asked to go back to Kurdistan to study the outcome of the dialogue. They went there, and I affirm before the Council that they were asked to send a delegation to a number of capitals. A delegation headed by Mr. Jalal Talabani went to Washington and to London, and after his return from these two capitals we were told that the leadership of the Kurdistan Front was not then ready to sign the agreement.

Thereafter, there were acts of sabotage and destruction against the Government authorities in that area. This made it imperative on the Government to withdraw the administrative apparatus from Suleimaniya, Erbil and Dohuk: they were no longer able to assume their normal functions as an administrative apparatus. The withdrawal of that administrative apparatus from the governorates led to the Government's being unable to pay directly the salaries of employees living in Erbil; that is, the accountant cannot pay the salary of a salaried employee in the city of Erbil, but that employee can come to Mosul or Kirkuk, where there is an administrative apparatus, an administrative authority, that can can pay the employee's salary.

This also applies to the supplies rationed by the Government. The Government cannot distribute these rations in villages and cities where there is no administrative apparatus. We distribute in a just, fair and comprehensive manner in all areas that are under the authority of the Government - that is, where there is a Governor, a representative of the Ministry of Trade, a police station and other administrative apparatus.

What are we doing in other cases? Rations for the three governorates are given to certain caterers in the area. They receive these rations, and we have no idea how they distribute them. This area is controlled by Kurdish

(Mr. Aziz, Iraq)

parties. Therefore, they bear the responsibility for the fairness and comprehensiveness of the distribution; whether quantities are stolen or given to the citizens is not the responsibility of the central Government.

There is no blockade of these provinces. I say there are precautionary measures. The representative of the United States referred to the presence of checkpoints. Yes, they exist. But what is their task? A United States Senator visited that area, and said that Iraq was violating Security Council resolutions. He said that he had gone to Suleimaniya and had found a large number of tractors, trailers and cars; he said that Iraq wanted to export them to Iran and was therefore violating the boycott.

(Mr. Aziz, Iraq)

The fact is that that equipment, which is very important for the life of the Iraqi people, was there not because the central Iraqi Government wanted to export it to Iran, but because it had been stolen from the State or from citizens and moved there to be smuggled into Iran and sold there. We are a country under siege. When a car is stolen from Baghdad or a tractor is stolen from Mosul, or when any other equipment is stolen, we cannot make up for it; we cannot buy more. If it has been moved to the northern part, where we have no authority, where we do not have any police, any customs, it is then smuggled into Iran and other countries.

We have a right to protect the wealth of our people by establishing checkpoints. When a person wants to move a tractor from Baghdad, Arbil or Mosul, we ask him "Why? What are you going to use it for there?" If his papers are valid and if his position is perfectly clear we allow him to do it, but if he wants to smuggle it is only natural that we prevent him from doing so. These are precautions aimed at protecting the property of the Iraqi people and the Iraqi State.

Using the pretext of the abnormal situation in the north, allied forces stayed there for several months. Then they withdrew. They are now stationed at the Incirlik base in Turkey. Allied aircraft fly on reconnaissance missions in the area. They sometimes fly at a very low altitude over Mosul, in a very provocative manner. They do so on Fridays during prayers, in a manner that spreads terror among the civilian population. These provocative raids have caused certain abortion cases among pregnant women. The Security Council did not ask for these reconnaissance flights. Three countries took that decision unilaterally. Does reconnaissance require these provocative flights at a very low altitude, spreading terror among the civilian population?

(Mr. Aziz, Iraq)

Some people have talked about the so-called Shi'ite problem in Iraq and the persecution of the Shi'ites. Before the Council and before history I should like to recall a fact known by every Iraqi Arab and Muslim - that since the dawn of Islam there has been nothing that can be described as a sectarian war, such as those that were waged in Europe between the Catholics and the Protestants. That is a fact known by every historian who has any idea about Arab or Islamic history. Yes, there are schools of thought - religious schools, philosophical schools - in Islam, but those doctrines have never in the history of Islam or in Arab history led to sectarian wars. I affirm Islamic and Arab history: they have never been turned into sectarian strife.

Iraq is 6,000 years old. This ancient civilization has resulted in a diversity of population, culture and religion. That is a fact. Iraq is composed of Arabs, Kurds, Turkmen - a minority that speaks the old Turkish dialect - Muslims, Sunnis, Shi'ites, Christians, Catholics - Orthodox, Protestants, Anglicans. It is a diverse society of sects, religions and nationalities. But this society has never engaged in sectarian strife or sectarian war.

Life among all the Iraqis is based on brotherliness. There may be some political differences, but never on the basis of religious doctrine - Sunnis, Shi'ites, Christians or Muslims. Those who talk about this problem are making unjust allegations against Iraq, using them for political aims.

There is no Shi'ite problem in Iraq. Look at this delegation of ours. We did not choose it on a sectarian basis. We named the delegation in accordance with responsibilities. The delegation, representing the Iraqi Government, is headed by a Deputy Prime Minister who is Christian - Catholic. It is composed of ministers, ambassadors and technicians who are Shi'ites,

(Mr. Aziz, Iraq)

Sunnis and Kurds. This is our life in Iraq. We do not have sectarian strife inside Iraq. Any allegation that we have is a lie aimed at achieving a political objective, that of destabilizing the Iraqi Government.

As regards the situation in Al Ahwar: Al Ahwar is a swamp area in the marshes adjoining a neighbouring country. In the marshes there are forests of reeds. In that area criminals may hide, outlaws may seek refuge and there may be other persons who may have political objectives. As I have said, the area is adjacent to a neighbouring country, Iran. It is regrettable that Iran still plays the game of interfering in Iraq's internal affairs. This is the problem of the marshes. Do not the authorities have the right to take measures to stop armed people coming from a neighbouring country to destabilize Iraq? Yes, the authorities have that right; they have the right to take precautions to preserve security and stability in the country and the area.

Finally, there was a reference to terrorism. Iraq has affirmed its commitment in this respect. Iraq has never practised terrorism. There is not a single piece of evidence that Iraq has taken part in such operations.

(Mr. Aziz, Iraq)

I come now to my final comment on your statement, Mr. President.

I should like to make what I regard as a legitimate request. The Security Council meets once every two months to review the situation of Iraq's compliance with provisions of Security Council resolutions. After this review, it passes judgement. We would request that the Council allow us to appear before it every two months to take part in that review. We ask the Council to give us an opportunity to explain our position on matters of interest to it. If comments are made on the extent of Iraq's compliance with one or another provision in a resolution, let us have an opportunity to explain our position. The Council has given us such an opportunity yesterday and today, and we feel that it has been invaluable. We appreciate this opportunity and are very grateful to the Council for having given it to us.

Yesterday I was asked various questions by representatives in the Security Council.

The representative of India referred to the question of detainees. I hope that the clarification I have made in this statement will suffice. I should like to state to the representative of India that Iraq will do its utmost to solve this problem. We have said that we have given the file to the Red Cross - in other words, we have turned the whole task over to the Red Cross, in order that the International Committeee of the Red Cross may carry out all the investigations and take all the measures necessary to put an end to this question and submit a report to the Security Council on it.

The representative of France put three questions. First, he asked when Iraq would provide a full and complete picture of Iraq's military programme. In my statement yesterday and in the clarifications I have made this morning,

(Mr. Aziz, Iraq)

I have said that we are ready to enter immediately into talks with th pecial Commission and the International Atomic Energy Agency with a view to ally achieving this full and complete picture.

Secondly, the representative of France asked when Iraq would inf the Security Council of its unconditional acceptance of the monitoring pl set out in Security Council resolution 715 (1991). I dealt with this matt in my statement yesterday and have done so again this morning. I believe th the proposals and clarifications I have made require no further explanatic

The third question by the representive of France had to do with resolution 688 (1991). I hope that my statement this morning has cove d this question as well.

I shall now deal, one after the other, with the questions put by e representative of the United States. His first question was:

(spoke in English)

"... is Iraq ready to make full, final and complete disclosure of ts programmes of weapons of mass destruction ...?" (S/PV.3059 (Resumption 1), p. 162)

(spoke in Arabic)

I have answered that question in my statement this morning.

The second question put by the representative of the United State

(spoke in English)

"... is Iraq prepared to commence destruction of its ballistic mi ile production and repair facilities, as requested by the Special Commission's letter of 14 February and under United Nations supervision ...?" (ibid.)

(Mr. Aziz, Iraq)

(spoke in Arabic)

Again, in my statements today and yesterday I have made proposals in regard to that question. We have referred to basic points of principle that we hope the Security Council will take into consideration. In particular, I should like to state that we should achieve a full, comprehensive list.

Thirdly, the United States representative asked:

(spoke in English)

"... will Iraq return to the IAEA the nuclear documents seized from and never returned to the sixteenth Special Commission inspection team in September 1991 ...?" (ibid.)

(spoke in Arabic)

We do not have these documents; they do not exist. We are ready to engage in a dialogue with the IAEA on this matter.

The next question by the representative of the United States related to resolution 715 (1991). I have dealt with it in my statement this morning and in my statement yesterday.

The representative of the United States put a question on the boundary demarcation. The report made to the Security Council did not refer to any of these problems. Indeed, it is regrettable that some members of the Council think that there were problems. The fact is that the statement by the President and the report of the Secretary-General never referred to any of these problems. I believe we should leave the matter there.

Another question by the representative of the United States had to do with the five police posts. I have dealt with that in my statement today.

(Mr. Aziz, Iraq)

The next question by the representative of the United States was in three or four parts; it had to do with detainees, refugees and humanitarian interests. I have dealt with that question in my statements yesterday and today.

The representative of the United States put a question on resolutions 706 (1991) and 712 (1991). I have also covered this in my statements. He asked:

(spoke in English)

"When will Iraq permit the establishment of United Nations humanitarian centres throughout Iraq, including Kirkuk and Mosul?" (ibid., p. 163)

(spoke in Arabic)

The memorandum of understanding signed with the United Nations clearly provides that these centres should be established with the approval and acceptance of the Iraqi Government and in cooperation with that Government. In other words, the opinion of the Iraqi Government must be taken into account in the establishment of these centres. It is also worth noting that, contrary to the content of this question, there is a centre in Mosul. As part of this same question, the representative asked:

(spoke in English)

"When will Iraq guarantee the United Nations humanitarian programme unrestricted access to vulnerable groups throughout Iraq?" (ibid.)

(spoke in Arabic)

There is no problem in this respect. I have said that we are cooperating with the agencies of the United Nations in the appropriate way.

The representative of the United States asked a question on the checkpoints. I have answered that question.

(Mr. Aziz, Iraq)

The representative of the United States also asked when Iraq would allow the inhabitants of Kirkuk to return to their homes and businesses. May I be permitted to say that this question was based on false press reports circulated by certain quarters. Not a single Iraqi citizen has been prevented from returning to his home or his business - not in Kirkuk, not in Baghdad, not in Al Najaf, not in Mosul. All Iraqis are treated equally before the law. Certain measures have, however, been misinterpreted. I should like to give an example.

(Mr. Aziz, Iraq)

A citizen who has lived in and is registered in Baghdad since 1977 has the right to own property in Baghdad. A citizen who moved to Baghdad after 1977 may live there, but cannot own property there, whether he be Kurdish, Iraqi, Sunni, Shi'ite, Christian or Muslim. Our goal is not discrimination; it is to limit migration from the rural to the urban areas. Such migration is a trend from which all third world countries are suffering. Our regulations are not based on any kind of discrimination; they are simply intended to ensure that the trend does not continue.

Another question was not really a question at all, but an accusation:

(spoke in English)

"Will Iraq cease attacks on civilians, including artillery bombardment of urban areas?" (supra, p. 163)

(spoke in Arabic)

That is an accusation, not a question, and I reject that accusation.

There was a question on the marsh areas, and I have dealt with it. The next question was

(spoke in English)

"when will Iraq make a final accounting of and return of all both military and non-military property taken from Kuwait?" (ibid.)

(spoke in Arabic)

That question was dealt with very clearly in the report: Iraq has already returned most of this property, some of which was military property.

There was a question on resolution 706 (1991), with which I have dealt comprehensively.

I turn now to the questions put by the representative of the United Kingdom. At the beginning of his statement the representative of the United Kingdom commented cynically on the remark by Mr. Ahtisaari to which I had

(Mr. Aziz, Iraq)

referred in my statement: when Mr. Ahtisaari came to Iraq he spoke of Iraq as having been propelled back into the pre-industrial age and remaining there for a long time. The representative of the United Kingdom wondered how that could be true if Iraq was still pursuing a nuclear programme. I can tell the Council that Iraq was not pursuing any industrial programmes, whether civilian or military, when Mr. Ahtisaari was in Iraq. True, certain equipment remained from earlier days, but Iraq

(spoke in English)

was not activating any function or any activity in this field or in any other field.

(spoke in Arabic)

When Mr. Ahtisaari visited Baghdad in March 1991 there was no electricity to power the plants; there was not enough fuel even for people's cars. Water-purification plants had been bombed. Bridges in the capital and even in remote villages had been destroyed. The description by Mr. Ahtisaari - who, by the way is not Iraqi or a member of the Iraqi Ba'ath Party - was based on what he and his party saw: they were fair-minded and described what they saw.

The first question of the representative of the United Kingdom referred to the four points I set out in my statement relating to Iraq's readiness to continue cooperating, to provide new information and so forth. He stated that I had indicated our willingness to act on those four points:

> "Iraq is willing to do this on the basis of respect for its sovereignty and dignity and non-infringement upon its national security, and thus not allowing the objectives stipulated in resolution 687 (1991) to be turned into a means of preventing our people and country from living their free, normal life like all other free peoples in the world". (supra, p. 103)

(Mr. Aziz, Iraq)

(spoke in Arabic)

The representative of the United Kingdom asked if these were conditions, with the left hand taking away what the right had just given. I would tell that representative that like every other free country in the world - and Iraq is a free, independent country, and has long cherished its independence, as the representative of the United Kingdom knows - Iraq will not negotiate its independence or its sovereignty. These are not matters for bargaining.

Yes, we are ready to cooperate with the Security Council; yes, we are ready to cooperate with the Special Commission; yes, we are ready to cooperate with the IAEA: to achieve the objectives set out in resolution 687 (1991). But we shall not bargain over our sovereignty; we shall not bargain over our right to live as a free, independent people, a people that has been contributing to human civilization for 6,000 years.

The representative of the United Kingdom said that

(spoke in English)

the statement of Tariq Aziz referred only to the equipment covered by the provisions of paragraph 8 of resolution 687 (1991). He said that excluded the nuclear equipment covered by paragraph 12 of resolution 687 (1991) and asked whether this was a deliberate omission or an oversight.

It was an oversight, Mr. Ambassador: I was dealing with the report of 28 February, not addressing other issues. We have accepted resolution 687 (1991), and that acceptance is comprehensive.

(spoke in Arabic)

In his next question, the representative of the United Kingdom said that

(Mr. Aziz, Iraq)

(spoke in English)

Mr. Tariq Aziz suggested that the Security Council should be involved in technical discussions on weapons of mass destruction. He said it must be clear from the President's opening statement and from the presidential statement of 28 February that it is not for the Council to become involved in the detailed decisions of the Special Commission and the IAEA. He asked whether, if decisions were taken by the Special Commission and the IAEA, Iraq would implement them. That is hypothetical.

(spoke in Arabic)

We have submitted to the Council certain legitimate, logical suggestions and proposals; we are still waiting for the Council to consider them. We hope the Council will consider our legitimate, logical and practical requests and our proposals based on principle. We are here in New York ready to continue our contacts with the Special Commission, the IAEA and the Security Council in order to reach a fair and equitable solution in keeping with the letter and spirit of resolution 687 (1991) on this subject.

I dealt with the fourth question in my discussion of resolution 706 (1991).

I thank you, Mr. President, and the other members of the Council for your attention and for giving me this opportunity to address the Council today to reply to yesterday's questions. I repeat that I stand ready at this meeting or at any future meeting to answer any other question members may wish to ask. We want to arrive at a clear understanding of everything connected with the provisions of resolution 687 (1991).

(Mr. Aziz, Iraq)

We do not wish to leave any confusion between us and the Council in that regard. We should like to separate the accusations, doubts and political positions from the factual realities relevant to the implementation of the provisions of the resolution. This is our objective and has been our objective ever since we arrived in New York. I have told this to the press, to you, Mr. President, and to the Secretary-General. Moreover, I have reconfirmed today that we are on a good will mission. We shall continue to act accordingly.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): Does any member of the Council wish to address further questions to the Deputy Prime Minister of Iraq?

Mr. PICKERING (United States of America): Obviously, much of what we have heard this morning presents us with a great deal of material, a seeming sense that there may be some new elements. Essentially, I heard a repetition of a great deal of what has been said before. There are some obvious changes. We would all welcome, once again, the reopening of contacts between Iraq and the Secretariat - previously shut down by Iraq - on the implementation of resolutions 706 (1991) and 712 (1991).

We have known for some time and indeed your statement, Mr. President, and mine indicated that we were both aware of specific written acceptance by Iraq, dated 11 April 1991, of commitments under resolution 687 (1991). We wonder why we are still here talking about Iraq's commitments and obligations under that resolution being fulfilled. And, once again, we hear, unfortunately, that Iraq wishes to meet and negotiate these commitments. Once again, there is broad and general acceptance of a resolution, but with all kinds of new provisos, reservations, pre-conditions and so forth. Once again, I would

(Mr. Pickering, United States)

remind the Deputy Prime Minister of Iraq that these are mandatory resolutions, which must be complied with in full, and that there has now been a long period of 11 months during which extensive discussions have been held with the Special Commission and the IAEA - all of which have, I think, made clear what is required.

There is a seeming indication that a little negotiation will provide a full and complete declaration. But, of course, it is Iraq that knows what it had in its arsenal, what it was building and what production equipment was available to do so on 2 August 1990 and indeed on every single date and at every single hour subsequent to that time. We still have not seen that list: It is not up to the Special Commission to produce that list: it is up to Iraq. Similarly, it is Iraq that is to cooperate in the destruction of the programmes. After extensive discussion with the Special Commission, Iraq is still resisting the destruction of the essential elements of the production machinery for its ballistic missile programme.

Finally, it appears, once again, that Iraq wishes to sit and negotiate with us over the long-term monitoring programme - as if the provisions were not clear. That programme is contained in Council resolutions and has been set forth clearly by the Special Commission and the IAEA. We would have liked to hear a full, clear, uncomplicated and basic commitment on Iraq's part to accept that programme and comply with it.

There are many other areas of discussion, some of which I think are quite interesting. Nevertheless, I am left with the final and unfortunate conclusion that with respect not only to weapons of mass destruction, but also to all the other elements of the resolution, including the very important humanitarian elements, we are once again in a cat-and-mouse game: there is

(Mr. Pickering, United States)

every willingness to discuss at great length but no willingness to accept the need for compliance, much less to begin the actions to comply. I think this is unfortunate. As I said yesterday, I believe it is a miscalculation, and I hope this miscalculation does not continue.

Sir David HANNAY (United Kingdom): I do not wish to pose more questions. I thank the Deputy Prime Minister for the answers he gave, though I am bound to register that some of them were, frankly, evasive and therefore not satisfactory. But I feel that this exchange has shown that these problems of compliance will never be resolved by words - they will have to be resolved by deeds. And in so far as the Deputy Prime Minister has shown some willingness on one or two points to indicate a shift in the position of his Government, I feel this will have to be put to the test by deeds. It is in the work that now has to continue to be done by the IAEA and the Special Commission, it is in the work being done by the ICRC and it is in the work done by the Secretary-General in the humanitarian area and in the implementation of resolution 688 (1991) that we shall see whether this has been put to the test and is resulting in compliance, or whether we are simply confronted with a continuation of the non-compliance that has been the history of the last year. I hope very much that it will be the former, not the latter, because, as I said yesterday, I think the latter would be a major miscalculation.

Mr. HATANO (Japan): The fate of Kuwaiti and third-country nationals in Iraq is of major concern to my country. A question was asked yesterday regarding visits by the ICRC to places of detention in Iraq, especially as to whether the visits could be conducted in accordance with ICRC standard procedures. I am not quite sure if the general answer just given by the

(Mr. Hatano, Japan)

Deputy Prime Minister regarding cooperation with the ICRC covers this specific point of great importance. We shall carefully follow the developments on this particular point and may raise this subject again in future Security Council discussions.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): As no other member of the Council wishes to address questions to the Deputy Prime Minister of Iraq, I intend, with the concurrence of the members of the Council, to suspend the meeting now. I invite members to join me for consultations immediately.

The meeting was suspended at 12.10 p.m. and resumed at 1.30 p.m.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): In concluding the present stage of the consideration of the item on the agenda, I have been authorized, following consultations among members of the Security Council, to make the following statement on behalf of the Council:

"The views of the Security Council having been expressed through its President and by the statements of its members on the extent of compliance by the Government of Iraq with its obligations under the relevant Security Council resolutions, the Security Council has listened with close attention to the statement by the Deputy Prime Minister of Iraq and his responses to the questions posed by Council members.

"The members of the Security Council wish to reiterate their full support for the statement made by the President of the Council on their behalf at the opening of the 3059th meeting (S/23699).

"In the view of the Security Council, the Government of Iraq has not yet complied fully and unconditionally with those obligations, must do so and must immediately take the appropriate actions in this regard. It hopes that the goodwill expressed by the Deputy Prime Minister of Iraq will be matched by deeds."

I wish to inform members of the Council that the representative of the Islamic Republic of Iran has transmitted to me a communication in connection with this item which I shall have circulated among members.

The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on the agenda.

The Security Council will remain seized of the matter.

The meeting rose at 1.35 p.m.